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Dogu Turkistan

### TURKESTANI NATIONALIST LEADER'S ACCOUNT OF CONDITIONS IN EASTERN TURKESTAN

Summary and Comment: In 1952, the Guven Press in Istanbul published a 96-page book entitled Dogu Turkistan: Tarihi, Cografi ve Simdiki Durumu (Eastern Turkestan: Its History, Geography, and Present Condition), written by Mohammed 'Amin Bughra (or Mehmet Emin Bugra, as he is known in Turkey), the leader of the Turkestani Nationalist Party. Before his escape in 1949 from Eastern Turkestsn (Sinkiang) to India, Bughra was deputy governor general of that province.

Bughra wrote the book in Turkey following his arrival in that country from India, and, in his introductory remarks, states that his reason for publishing the book is to enlighten peoples abroad who, unfortunately, know very little about Eastern Turkestan. He stresses the fact that the province should properly be called Eastern Turkestan and not Sinkiang, which is only a name given to the province by the Chinese when they occupied it in 1877. The following report gives a brief summary of Bughra's book.

Bughra says that the population of Eastern Turkestan is about 8 million, 96 percent of whom are of Turkic origin and Moslems, including 930,000 Kazakhs and 65,000 Kirgiz. Of the 310,000 Chinese in Eastern Turkestan, 90,000 are Moslems. According to Bughra, it is erroneous to apply the term Uighur to the people living in the towns of Eastern Turkestan.

After summarizing events since the Chinese occupation in 1877, Bughra writes that in 1931 he with his two younger brothers, Generals Abdullah and Nurahmet (who were both killed later in clashes with Communist forces), and a few others organized the Movement for the Liberation of Eastern Turkéstan.

- 1 -

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This movement, according to Bughra, broke out into open clashes with the Chinese in April 1933 and lasted until August 1933, at which time the Chinese forces suppressed the Turkestani nationalist movement. Bughra cites three reasons for the failure of the Turkestani movement: (1) Soviet intervention; (2) the intervention of Chinese Moslem General Ma Chung-yin; and (3) the discord among the Turkestani nationalist leaders. After the defeat of the nationalist Turkestani forces, Bughra fled to India, where he stayed 6 months, and then to Afghanistan, where he stayed 7 years.

Referring to the atrocities perpetrated by the Soviets in Eastern Turkestan between 1937 and 1942, Bughra says that more than 300,000 persons were imprisoned during this period and that more than 100,000 met violent death on charges of being British, US, or Japanese spies, Trotskyites, or Fan-Turkists. After the withdrawal of the Soviet forces from Eastern Turkestan in 1942, the Chinese government sent General Wu Chung-hsin to be governor of Eastern Turkestan and General Chu Shaoliang as commander in chief of Chinese forces in that province. The plan of both these men was to eradicate Turkestani national feelings and to strengthen Chinese rule.

In 1943, Bughra moved to Chungking, where, with Isa Alptekin, another nationalist leader, he published Turkestani newspapers or wrote articles for Chinese newspapers advocating the autonomy of Eastern Turkestan. under Chinese sovereignty. He says that, at the insistence of some Chinese chauvinists, Chiang Kai-shek refused to approve the resolution of the Kuomintang granting autonomy to Eastern Turkestan. In October 1945, Bughra was invited, together with Isa Alptekin and Mesud Sabri, to Urumchi, where they were to represent the Turkestanis during the peace talks between the Chinese and the Turkestanis as a result of the Turkestani uprising in Kuldja Hsien of Eastern Turkestan. In June 1946, an agreement was signed whereby Eastern Turkestan was to enjoy local autonomy under Chinese sovereignty.

At this point Soviet intrigue started again, Bughra says, in the form of fomenting discontent among the Turkestanis against the Chinese authorities. To satisfy Turkestani feelings, the Chinese government decided to approve the appointment of native Turkestanis to the highest posts in the province. Accordingly, Mesud Sabri was appointed governor general of Eastern Turkestan, Alptekin secretary-general of the provincial government, and Janim Khan, the Kazakh leader, Minister of Finance.

Naturally, Bughra continues, this agreement between the Chinese and the Turkestanis did not please the Soviet authorities, who tried to break it up. Soon after the formation of an Eastern Turkestani government composed of 15 Turkestanis and 10 Chinese, as provided by the agreement, acts of sabotage by pro-Soviet elements started to increase. However, the Turkestanis did not enjoy their measure of autonomy very long, since the threat of Chinese Communism was increasing daily. In the presence of this danger, the Chungking government, Bughra says, adopted a queer attitude, replacing Mesud Sabri, the Nationalist governor in Eastern Turkestan, by a Soviet citizen and Isa Alptekin, the Nationalist secretary-general, by liu Min-chung, a Chinese. To soften up the people, they made Bughra deputy governor general and Minister of Reconstruction (1 January 1949). Burhan, the new governor general, tried to follow a two-faced policy. On the one hand, he was carrying out all the instructions of the Chinese authorities, while on the other he was keeping in close touch with the Soviet consul.

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Since Eastern Turkestan, Bughra says, depended mostly on its export trade with Western Turkestan, the Chungking government realized that in the presence of the Chinese Communist menace the immediate conclusion of a trade agreement with the Soviet Union was imperative. It informed the Soviet authorities of its readiness to conclude an agreement regulating the trade between Eastern Turkestan and the USSR and also foreseeing the establishment of a joint Sino-Soviet commission for the exploitation of the mines in Eastern Turkestan. Instead of the trade agreement, the Soviet authorities offered in their counterproposal three separate agreements: one to regulate the trade between Bastern Turkestan and the USSR; one with the companies to operate the oil wells and other mines; and one to regulate aerial transportation. The Chinese delegation, of which Bughra was a member, met with the Soviet delegation, and after lengthy negotiations, and agreement on air transportation was signed in April 1949. Because of the intransigence of the Soviet delegates on the terms of the other two points, no agreement could be reached.

In the meantime, following the defeat and withdrawal to Taiwan of the Chinese Nationalist forces, the Chinese Communist fifth column in Eastern Turkestan stepped up its activity. After the defeat of Ma Pu-fang, Nationalist Chinese Moslem General, by the Chinese Communists, Bughra and his associates had no alternative but to save themselves by leaving the country for India. In September 1949, Chinese Communist forces under General Fleng Teh-huai occupied Eastern Turkestan. The surrender of the Chinese Nationalist forces to the Chinese Communist forces was arranged by Aleksandr Sevilov, the

Lieutenant General Tao-Chih-yueh, commander of the Nationalist Chinese forces, undertook to persuade the troops under his command to surrender. Naturally, the majority, seeing no other way out, consented. However, Generals Ma Chin-shan and Yeh Chin were opposed and decided to leave Eastern Turkestan.

The information which Bughra was able to collect regarding Eastern Turkestan after his escape to India is based, according to his statements, on broadcasts of the Urumchi Fadic and on the reports of other persons who managed to escape after him from the province.

According to the statements of Burhan, the pro-Soviet governor of Eastern Turkestan, as broadcast by the Urumchi Padio on 2 October 1951, 48,000 persons were put to death during the first 2 years of the Chinese Communist occupation, because they were opposed to Communism; 239 more were executed between the time of his statement and the end of October. In addition, 26,000 persons were killed by the Communist security forces. Consequently, the total number killed by the Communist in Eastern Turkestan between 1949 and 1951 is about 72,000.

The program of the Chinese Communist, Bughra says, is to change the ethnic character of Eastern Turkestan by persecuting the Turkestani population and replacing them with Chinese settlers. Naturally, the Soviet authorities do not like this because they consider Eastern Turkestan part of their sphere of influence. For this reason, the Chinese Communists do not want to antagonize them and they say that all the new settlers in Turkestan "are families of the soldiers of the people's army or families of soldiers who were killed in action." In Khotan Helen, more than half of the land was given to the Chinese settlers. The Urumchi radio reported that these settlers were given weapons to defend themselves against the attacks of the Turkestanis.

- 3 -

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From an economic standpoint, Eastern Turkestan is now entirely under Soviet influence. About 170 different products of Eastern Turkestan, including the most important ones of cotton, wool, cattle, hides, and foodstuffs, are purchased entirely by the Soviet trading agency. In exchange for these products, the agency sells Soviet goods to the population. The prices of local products, as well as of Soviet goods, are announced daily by the various chambers of commerce in Eastern Turkestan, which are under the influence of the Soviet trading agency. The local producers cannot demand payment in currency for goods sold. They have to barter, thus being forced to accept goods for which they have no need.

According to the statements of Shu Li-chin, second secretary of the Communist Party in Urumchi, the following Turkestani leaders have been executed: Osman Batur, leader of the Turkestani guerrillas; Janim Khan, former Minister of Finance; Seyid Ahmed Hoja, former governor of Aksu; Pazarbey, former governor of Yarkand; and Nuri Bey, former governor of Khotan.

According to the Urumchi radio, 46,000 Turkestanis are employed in the construction of 2,000 kilometers of highways in Eastern Turkestan. Again, according to the same radio, there are labor camps in Aksu, Khotan, Araturuk, Karashahr, Urumchi, Kashgar, Muri, and Kuldja. Those who are in these camps are building dams or cultivating the soil given to the Chinese settlers.

In 1950, after occupying Fastern Turkestan, the Chinese Communist forced the people to buy more than 100 million Turkestani dollars (i.e., one million US dollars) worth of the se-called victory bonds and again 64 million Turkestani dollars worth of bonds in 1951. In addition, according to General Yolbars Bey, who fled to India, they seized 70 of every 100 head of livestock belonging to the Turkestania. In 1951, they seized 80 percent of their crops.

The Urumchi radio reported that several persons were put to death in Kutcha, Aksu, Turfan, Korashahr, Yarkand, and Khotan because they incited the people against the collection for Korea. The same radio reported that thousands of Kazakh families in Eastern Turkestan were devoting themselves to agriculture. This proves, according to Bughra, that their cattle have been taken away from these people, for there is no Kazakh who would give up willingly the lucrative and comparatively easy work of raising cattle and devote himself to the hard and not very remunerative task of tilling the soil.

The Communist tried to create a rift between the great landowners and the landless farmers, by promising to distribute among the latter the lands of the former. They did not succeed, Bughra states, because the landless Turkestani peasants did not want to cause harm to their fellow compatriots, the landowners. Then the Communists passed a new law whereby the landowners must lease their lands to certain people at a renta, fixed by an official committee. In this way the lands are being leased to the Chinese settlers at very low rents. In December 1951, an order was issued compelling all merchants in Eastern Turkestan, under threat of heavy renalties, to deposit all the currency in their possession in the banks. Feeple are forbidden to discuss world affairs in Eastern Turkestan. A young man named Davud Kadi was sentenced to death because he told others that Turkey had sent troops to Korea. A person in Eastern Turkestan who had listened to a broadcast of the statements made by Eughra to Voice of America representatives in Cairo was sentenced to life imprisonment. General Wang Jen, commander of the Chinese forces in Eastern Turkestan, admitted in a talk on the Urumchi radio that one Chinese division in Aksu alone had in its possession 980,000 donums of land and 300,000 head of cattle. In other words, almost all the land and cattle of the population had been seized by the Chinese troops. After the occupation of Eastern Turkestan, the Chinese Communists in October 1951 replaced the old currency, which had both Turkestani and Chinese markings, by new currency with only Chinese markings

- 4 -

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According to reports, a Russian army corps of 23,000 men under the command of General Rodanov Rodionov? consisting of the 7th, 9th, and 11th Soviet divisions, is now in Eastern Turkestan with its headquarters in Kuldja. The 6th and 4th regiments of this army corps are stationed in Tarbagatai and Ch'enghua hsiens; the 11th and 40th regiments are stationed between Urumchi and Kucha; and the 7th Regiment is placed at strategic spots along the border between Kansu and Fomul (Ha-mi).

In addition, there is the so-called National Eastern Turkestan Army Corps, consisting of 36,000 men. The official name of this army corps is the V Army Corps, and it is under the command of the Russian General Liskin. Likewise, the higher officers of this army corps are all Russian

These two army corps came into Eastern Turkestan on the pretext of assisting the Chinese troops to clean up the guerrilla movement. However, even though the guerrilla movement has been suppressed, they continue to remain there.

Besides these two Soviet-controlled army corps, there are also in Eastern Turkestan the First Chinese communist Army, divided into two corps and consisting of about 70,000 men, and the old Kuomintang army in Fastern Turkestan, consisting of about 100,000 men, which joined the Chinese Communist forces.

Bughra states that, despite the fact that Burhan is the governor general and General Wang is the commander in chief and, at the same time, chairman of the Communist Party in Eastern Turkestan, the main political role is played by three Russians. These are: Baminov; the Soviet Consul General in Urumchi; Ogulin, the secretary of the Eastern Turkestan branch of the international Communist organization and chairman of the Soviet Citizens Association in Urumchi; and Nikolayev, the Soviet Consul in Kuldja. These three Soviet officials are present at every meeting of either Eastern Turkestan administration officials or the Communist Party. Every administrative branch is full of Soviet experts. The majority of these experts, who in reality are the Soviet fifth column, are from Western Turkestan, but pretend to be from Eastern Turkestan. Since the Eastern and Western Turkestanis speak the same language, have the same traditions, and dress in the same attire, the Chinese cannot distinguish one from the other.

The Soviets have always tried to make Soviet citizens of the inhabitants of Eastern Turkestan. The Soviet authority is felt especially in the holens around Kuldja, where no person can conduct business or be appointed to a government post unless he is a Soviet citizen. Because of this, many in this area have acquired Soviet citizenship. In Urumchi elone, according to statements made to Bughra by the chief of police of that city, over 6,000 Eastern Turkestanis have been supplied with Soviet passports.

Besides conducting mining explorations in Fastern Turkestan, the Soviets are extracting great quantities of oil from Shiho in Tarbagatai Hsien. Oil drillings have already been started in the areas of Kashgar, Kucha, and Turfan. Great quantities of wolfram are extracted in Arashan of Kuldja Hsien, and wolfram and uranium in Jemeney, Koktugay, and Sarusumbe of Sharasume Hsien. Uranium is also being extracted at Tchonja (Kurching) of Urumchi Hsien. Bughra says that he has learned from a reliable person who arrived recently from Eastern Turkestan that thousands of persons are working secretly in mines at Chat near Kashgar. Bughra states that he had already known of oil wells, copper and gold mines in that area, but adds that the fact that mining operations are conducted secretly tends to prove that a strategic mineral is being extracted there. The Urumchi Radio reported that plans have been drawn up for a more systematic exploitation of the gold mines in the areas of Knotan. Yarkand, Karashahr, and Sharasume.

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- 5 -

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According to information received by Bughra, the airfield of Kuldja has been expanded and provided with underground hangars. Likewise, the old Soviet airfield at Kumul has been expanded and improved. In addition, the construction of a new large airfield at Zung Karavul, 4 kilometers north of Kashgar, started in March 1950. The construction work, on which 2,000 workers are employed daily, has not yet been completed. It is reported that the underground installations here are very extensive.

In connection with the atomic plant and tests in Eastern Turkestan, Bughra says that Russian experts have found two important minerals in the districts of Jemeney and Koktugay in Sharasume Hsien and that he had obtained specimens of these minerals, which were uranium and wolfram. According to further information, the Soviet experts discovered another very rich uranium mine in the Kutching district of Urumchi Hsien.

After referring to the Nationalist guerrilla leaders Osman Batur, Janim Khan, Oraz Bay, and Rahmanoglu, all of whom were killed in the course of the resistance movement against the Chinese Communist forces, Bughra states that there is now in Eastern Turkestan a well-organized partiss movement which, despite all the efforts of the Chinese Communist forces, is still very active and inflicting heavy losses on the Communists. Bughra also mentions the guerrilla bands of Alibey and Hussein Teyji, which were active along the border between Eastern Turkestan and the Chinese province of Tsinghai. However, in the presence of superior forces both bands were compelled to flee to Tibet and from there to India.

Finally, Bughra states that all efforts at spreading Communist ideas among the youth in Eastern Turkestan so far have falled. On the contrary, he asserts, these attempts at Communist indoctrination have strengthened nationalist feelings among the Eastern Turkestan youth.

At the end of his book, Bughra states that the authenticity of all information given in his book has been checked

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